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FURIOUS ACTIVITY—SAME STALEMATE

Congo, Laos, Cuba: No change in sight in basic U. S. policy

By Kumar Goshal

THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION was reported to be heavily engaged lately in an attempt to bring down the temperature in the three hottest spots in the world: Laos, the Congo and Cuba.

- President Kennedy lifted out of obscurity the nominal ruler of Laos, King Savang Vathana, in an effort to save the pro-Western "strongman" Gen. Nosavan.
- He brought back from the Congo U.S. Ambassador Clare Timberlake for consultations.
- He sent Adolf Berle Jr., his special adviser on Latin America, to Brazil to sell U.S. policy on Cuba.

All the activity notwithstanding, Washington seemed to be standing pat on its policy in all three areas.

U.S. Ambassador to the UN Adlai Stevenson was busy cultivating the goodwill of the Afro-Asian bloc; but his statements on the eve of the General Assembly's March 7 reopening were stale and sterile. There was no indication that he had any constructive alternative to the proposals that Ghana's President Nkrumah was bringing to the UN (see p. 7).

Situation in Laos

The present trouble in Laos started when the U.S. without consulting the Laotians spread SEATO's military umbrella over the strategically-located country and maneuvered the overthrow of the coalition government headed by neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma. This was in direct violation of the decisions of the 1954 Geneva conference, which had declared Laos an independent neutral country, and had called for a government which would include the Pathet Lao freedom fighters of World War II.

Last fall Laotian paratroopers forced out the U.S.-backed central government and recalled Phouma again to head the government. Washington leaped to the support of Gen. Nosavan and civil war flared. The U.S. dusted off playboy prince Boun Oum, recognized him as Premier and persuaded the powerless

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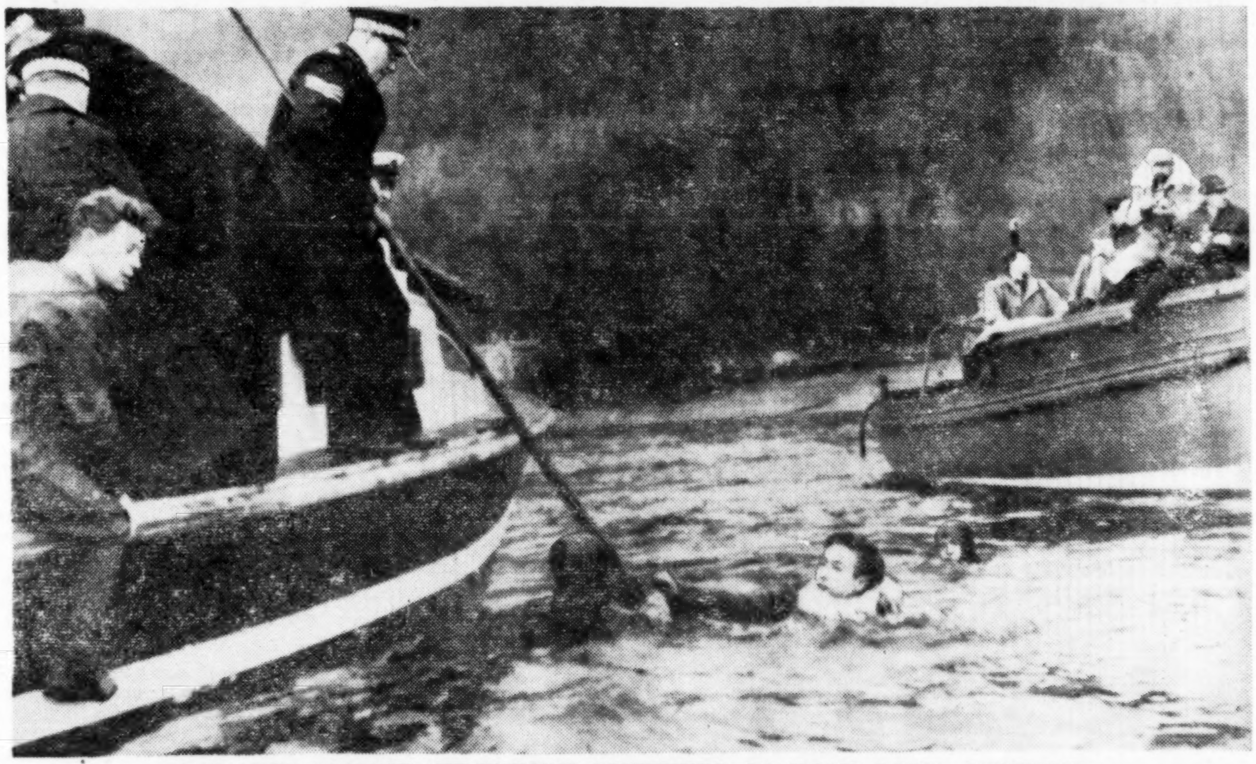

IN PROTEST AGAINST THE UNHOLY ACTIVITIES IN HOLY LOCH, SCOTLAND

British pacifist Terry Chandler is helped from the water after his canoe was capsized by police launches during a demonstration against the arrival of the U.S. atomic submarine tender Proteus March 3. Next day there were thousands on the shore joining the protest. For the philosophy of the protestants, see Bertrand Russell, p. 12.

WHY THEY DARE NOT VOTE AGAINST THE COMMITTEE

The fear of the Un-Americans in Congress

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian
WASHINGTON

A CATHOLIC Congressman from an Eastern state said to me: "I hate the damn Un-American Committee. My wife and I have talked for years about its abolition. But those foreign and church groups put on terrific pressure. It's too dangerous politically for me to vote against the committee."

Another Catholic, a Representative from a Midwestern state, said: "I lack the courage to vote against the committee. I'm against it, and I was against all those contempt citations but I voted for them. I can't expose myself. In my District, to speak to an ADA meeting is just like attending a Communist cell. The Eastern European groups, the veterans organizations, the Church, they would murder me."

A third Eastern Congressman told me: "I don't know what I'll do. The American Legion pressured me at breakfast this morning. Perhaps I will vote my principles, but it will be political suicide."

PART OF THE MAJORITY: A few hours later, these Congressmen and many like them were part of the 412 who on March 1 voted the House Un-American Committee $331,000 for 1961. Only six voted against the appropriation. They were Reps. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.), William Fitts Ryan (D-N.Y.), Edith Green (D-Ore.), William Ashley (D-Ohio), Robert Kastenmeier (D-Wisc.), and Barrett O'Hara (D-Ill.). Present but pointedly not voting were Reps. Adam Powell (D-N.Y.), John Blatnik (D-Minn.), Neal Smith (D-Ohio), and Frank Thompson (D-N.J.).

Freshmen Reps. Charles S. Joelson (D-N.J.) and James C. Gorman (D-Calif.) criticized the committee but voted for it. Rep. John Lindsay (R-N.Y.) reported that he was among those voting in the unrecorded voice vote to support Rep. Roosevelt's motion to recommit and limit the appropriation, but that he voted finally to approve the funds.

Disappointment at the overwhelming vote was somewhat tempered by other developments. A year ago the committee's appropriation was approved in about 30 seconds without comment, debate or protest; the contrast this year was startling. The protest vote and the abstentions are of greater significance than their numbers suggest. The demonstration of hostility to the committee required such political courage that it clearly is only a portion of the widespread but unexpressed opposition among Congressmen. Moreover, those openly critical of the committee include some of the most respected and influential mem-

(Continued on Page 4)

ANOTHER VICTORY FOR LABOR'S WHIPPING BOY

Teamsters win fight against monitors; convention set

By Robert E. Light

THE INTL. BROTHERHOOD of Teamsters won a three-year fight to rid itself of a court-appointed board of monitors Feb. 28 when Federal Judge F. Dickinson Letts dismissed the overseers and authorized a convention. The convention, scheduled for June 26 in Miami, will undoubtedly re-elect James R. Hoffa as president and return the incumbent executive board.

Thus labor's dragon will have won another victory over society's false knights and the union's plans for mass organizing and a nation-wide contract will be a step closer.

Judge Letts established the monitorship as settlement for a complaint by 13 rank-and-file Teamsters that the election which brought Hoffa to office at the 1957 convention was "rigged." The dissidents also complained of misdoings in some locals. In a deal agreed on by all, Hoffa was allowed to stay as "provisional president" and a board of three monitors was named to work with the union's executive board to end abuses.

FIRST 6 MONTHS: The monitors were charged with (1) protecting members' rights; (2) drafting a model code of local union by-laws; (3) ending trusteeships; (4) reviewing financial procedures; and (5) reviewing grievances. The monitorship was to end in no less than a year when a new convention and election was to be held.

For six months the system worked well. Monitor chairman Nathan Cayton commended the union's "enlightened cooperation." He reported that many grievances had been solved and trusteed locals were being restored to autonomy. He said: "We are generally impressed with the careful and business-like manner in which [accounting and financial] func-

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How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19—The recession won't be as severe overall as the 1957-58 slump, but it now seems likely to last longer and unemployment may be more serious. This was the thinking today of a dozen top government and private economists. They felt the bottom may not be hit before June.
—The Columbus (Ohio) **Citizen Journal, Feb. 20**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: D.E., Columbus, Ohio

THE MAIL BAG

Grain of salt

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Much as I enjoy reading the GUARDIAN and believe you serve a worthy purpose, I take everything you say with a grain of salt. Probably what you say is largely true but I do wish you'd be a little more objective. You seem to have too much of an ax to grind. I prayed at the time of the meeting of the Chiefs of State in Paris when Khrushchev behaved like a child that just this once you'd criticize him for his behavior as I'm sure you would have done had it been Eisenhower. But not one word did you say.

I support you because we desperately need the other point of view, but do be more objective.

Mary B. Cole

Criticism

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Thank goodness for the honest and critical report from the socialist countries by W. G. Burchett (Feb. 20).

He states: ". . . and obviously quite a few Party and government bureaucrats have to be kicked out of office to set things off to a good start" in recent agricultural reverses.

He shows that supposed Lysenko contributions in cross breeding to improve the butter-fat quality of milk are no different than, in Burchett's words, "ordinary dairy farmers', in Australia ever since I was a boy."

Honest socialist criticism can help the world movement, including the hero worshipers in the U.S.A.

Are only weather conditions responsible for the food shortage in China? Khrushchev says it is libelous to blame only the weather in the U.S.S.R.

Oscar Caywood

Light on Robert

SCITUATE, MASS.

The GUARDIAN is better than ever. Robert Light's articles on the new Attorney General are excellent and much needed at this time when so many ex-"radicals" and tired "liberals" have substituted great hope in the Kennedy administration for any political activity.

Mary Walsh Carlson

Hospitality wanted

TOPEKA, KAN.

The San Francisco-to-Moscow Walk for Peace hopes to reach Chicago April 1 and New York City June 1. After flying to England, we plan to continue across western and eastern Europe and arrive in Moscow late in fall of 1961. The entire trip is 6,500 miles. Our itinerary to Chicago is: Week of March 13—Booneville, Columbia, Kingdom City, High Hill, Foristell, St. Charles and St. Louis, all in Missouri. March 20—Troy, White City, Farmersville, Springfield, Lincoln, Funk's Grove and Lexington, Ill; March 27—Pontiac, Gardner, Elwood, and Chicago, Ill.

Our purpose in sending this information is to introduce ourselves to GUARDIAN readers on our route as far in advance as possible and to ask them to think about any help they may be able to extend the group of 14 Walkers in securing hospitality and arranging meetings. We would like very much to talk with them about our peace program. We advocate non-violent resistance and urge all governments to renounce massive retaliation, take the initiative in disarmament, stop bomb-testing and the production of chemical, biological and other such weapons; convert to peaceful economies and begin non-military aid to underdeveloped nations.

Hospitality has been provided by churches of many different denominations as well as private homes and community centers. Hospitality is not a complicated matter as we all have air mattresses and sleeping bags. We need only floor space and a roof over our heads.

Address CNVA, General Delivery, at any post office on our itinerary.

San Francisco-to-Moscow Peace Walkers

Irwin's Eighth

NEW YORK, N.Y.

On behalf of the eighth grade of Elisabeth Irwin High School we would like to thank you for the four issues you sent us of the GUARDIAN. They were appreciated and well used by all, especially the wonderful articles by Dr. Du Bois concerning Nigeria.

Andrea Weiss
Robert Meeropol
(for the 8th grade)

The Killian case

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

The Supreme Court on Feb. 20 announced its decision to review the conviction of my husband, John J. Killian, on Taft-Hartley frame-up charges.

This represents a final breakthrough after more than six years of struggle to achieve a hearing before the Court on several far-reaching constitutional and civil liberties issues. It is testimony to the great skill and perseverance of the lawyers who have fought against heavy odds with an added handicap of short funds.

During this time dozens of other cases raising these or similar issues have either failed to receive a hearing before the Court or have been decided on narrow, technical grounds. This makes the opportunity presented by my busband's case very important to the future of the civil liberties struggle.

The legal defense, in its unstinting effort to do the very best job, submitted two additional printed special briefs to the Supreme Court in January and February to bring the case in focus with recent important decisions.

The expenses of these briefs have exhausted the funds of the defense committee at a time when the final briefs are due in 30 days and when argument will most likely take place later in the spring.

We have all been living with this case much longer than we would like, but now that we face the final and most crucial hurdle, we hope to do it with renewed vigor and with the greatest skill possible.

We must therefore again ask for your contributions to help pay the necessary costs of printing, travel and research.

Please share our joy in this new lease on life and accept our most heartfelt thanks for all your warm support that has made it possible.

Gloria Killian
Secy., Killian Defense Fund
1233 S. 17th St.

Anthony Ahearn

"His latest painting. And, as you can see, he's at last concerned with ultimate values."

Swinging away

NEWTON CENTER, MASS.

Best wishes for your contemplated projects for the New Year. You can always be counted on to be in there, swinging, for decency and a peaceful world.

Allan Binch

The time has come

SHELTON, WASH.

The background [of the Congo] goes back many years, when the Protestant and Catholic countries throughout the Western world sent these people missionaries, built them churches, gave them the white man's Bible and taught them to kneel in prayer. While this was going on, the industries of these same countries robbed the Africans of their natural resources. They told them this was democracy. But when these people found out that those teaching them democracy and Christianity were living high on the hog while they wallowed in filth and poverty, they decided it was time democracy commenced to smile on them, and the time has come.

Herbert G. Nelson

Sign of dotage?

MORGANTOWN, W. VA.

In the GUARDIAN of January 16, Russ Nixon stated that Percy Priest was elected Majority Whip of the new Congress. The fact is that Mr. Priest is not even a member of Congress, and has not been since the 1956 election.

R. W.

Says Russ Nixon: "I don't know how this lapse occurred, since I know perfectly well that the Whip is Carl Albert of Oklahoma and Percy Priest stopped being the Whip when he died several years ago. I consider this to be the first sign of my dotage."—Ed.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

"THE JUDGE WROTE A LEAFLET for the union," one United Electrical Workers man said when Judge Dickinson Letts handed down his decision ruling Julius Emspak, UE secy.-treasurer, guilty of contempt and sentencing him to six months in jail and a $500 fine.

Emspak had refused to answer questions put to him by the Un-American Acivities Committee, citing the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution under which anyone may decline to incriminate himself. Judge Letts took the position that it was not to protect himself that Emspak had refused to answer: the UE leader had "quickly made it apparent that his concern for his union was uppermost in his mind." Therefore he should go to jail.

—From the National Guardian, March 14, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

The wishful thinkers

BACK IN JANUARY, when the Cuban people mobilized every ounce of militia power in their country in fear of a U.S. invasion (hinted by the Uruguayan foreign office on the basis of a still-unrepudiated State Dept. communication) the **Kiplinger Washington Letter** advised its subscribers that "Castro might stage a fake 'invasion' . . . to stir up his people."

About this time the whole U.S. press started to bubble with reports of invasion forces of Cuban expatriates and mercenaries in training in Florida and Guatemala, using U.S. government airfields and installations in both places. By now so much has been published on all this—series in the New York **Times**, New York **Daily News**, Louisville **Courier-Journal**, Los Angeles **Mirror** and others in addition to the Florida papers—that no one who reads the press can be unaware of the plotting afoot to overthrow the Cuban revolution.

Now comes Kiplinger's with a new batch of wishful predictions: Castro will be overthrown within months by "revolutionary" Cubans now training in Guatemala. The U.S. will not interfere. Landings will be timed to fit local uprisings "to look like an inside coup." The time: late spring. Big-scale desertions from Castro forces have been arranged. There will be great slaughter.

After the collapse (still Kiplinger's predicting) Cubans now being trained in Florida for the task will be flown in to restore order.

FROM ANOTHER WISHFUL quarter, the **American Metal Market**, a trade paper, comes advice to American businessmen with interests in Cuba to give "serious consideration to the probability of returning to the island republic some time this year." Writing from Miami, the **Metal Market** correspondent quotes Americans with interests in Cuba and some "hard-headed realists" among Cubans-in-Miami as believing that Castro will be overthrown and "some form of responsible government" set up in Cuba this year.

The Kennedy Administration would move in with "subtle" influence, "suggestive rather than compulsive," with aid in tractors, industrial machinery, not tanks and jets. JFK would "undoubtedly want to make Cuba a model for the 'New Look' in Latin America." Cuba would get "a lot of help" in moving away from a one-crop economy; mining investment would be encouraged; but land reform would "probably go forward . . . along practical lines and with compensation rather than outright confiscation." The **Metal Market** man says you can discount many of the anti-Castro groups in Florida as crackpots and even out-and-out gangsters, but that either the conservative **Fronte Revolutionario Democratica** or the "more liberal" **Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo** will call the shots.

THE OUT-AND-OUT GANGSTERS, meanwhile, are doing their bit wherever they can call a muster to break up meetings called for the purpose of urging fair play for Cuba.

Latest of these turned out badly Mar. 4 for a half dozen counter-revolutionaries who made the mistake of pulling a gun on a plainclothes policeman and wound up in a Los Angeles jail, but not before they had stormed the speakers' stand at the Embassy Auditorium from which Vincent Hallinan was about to speak and blackjacked a member of the audience who tried to halt them.

The Embassy meeting had been in public controversy for days ahead. Under pressure from counter-revolutionary Cubans, the meeting was at first canceled but was re-scheduled when the L.A. Fair Play for Cuba Committee posted a $3,000 bond. About 75 pickets—renegade Cubans and youth identifying themselves as Young Conservatives—patrolled the entrance to the hall while an audience of 1,000 entered and took seats. Some of the pickets bought tickets and entered the hall also. Once gathered inside they rushed the speakers' stand, some swinging blackjacks. They were ousted by uniformed police. Outside, the gunplay and arrests occurred.

Vincent Hallinan was uninjured, and went on to address the meeting after the disturbance. He was a recent visitor to Cuba with his wife, Vivian, and four of their sons, as a leader of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

IN SPITE OF HOODLUMISM and hostility in the press, the truth about Cuba is being told in communities all over the country by members of GUARDIAN and Fair Play Committee tours to Cuba.

The Fair Play Committee advocates resumption of diplomatic relations and normal trade relations with Cuba, including restoration of Cuba's sugar quota. We most certainly join in these recommendations, and urge GUARDIAN readers who visited Cuba on our two tours, last summer and at Christmas time, to continue the valiant job they have undertaken to tell the story of Cuba in letters to newspapers, interviews and at public forums. Fair play is the least the people of the U.S. owe the people of Cuba. **—THE GUARDIAN**

FAIR PRACTICES CODE PUT OFF

Meany delays showdown on labor jimcrow

JIMCROW'S VISA in the House of Labor was extended last month by AFL-CIO president George Meany when he forced delay on discussion of a code of fair racial practices until the executive council meeting next June. The council instead passed a resolution condemning discrimination but taking "pride in the great steps forward" by the labor movement.

The code was offered by A. Philip

Randolph, the AFL-CIO's only Negro vice president. It called for an attack on discrimination in unions and on the job which would (1) end segregated locals; (2) eliminate discrimination in apprentice-training programs; (3) appoint Negroes to policy-making positions in the AFL-CIO and in affiliated unions with substantial Negro membership; and (4) reorganize the federation's civil rights committee with a Negro as director. Randolph suggested a six-month deadline for compliance by offending unions.

The civil rights drive has been stimulated by the disproportionate burden Negro workers carry of the country's economic woes. Unemployment among Negroes is twice the general rate; Negroes constitute 10% of the labor force but they are 20% of the unemployed. Automation intensifies the problem because it eliminates semi-skilled and unskilled jobs where Negro workers are concentrated. Negroes' hopes to learn skilled trades are frustrated by discrimination in training programs. Randolph said that fewer than 1% of apprentices are Negroes.

TALK WITHOUT ACTION: AFL-CIO resolutions condemning discrimination are common and are usually passed without dissent. But Randolph and others are riled because action is rarely taken against offending unions. Randolph has raised the issue at every meeting for two years and each time has been put off by Meany. When Meany challenged his right to speak for Negroes, Randolph organized the Negro American Labor Council last May and was elected president.

In advance of the AFL-CIO executive council meeting, the NALC held a conference in Washington, Feb. 17 and 18, at which labor's failures against jimcrow were listed. The conference drew up a code of fair practices for Randolph to present to the AFL-CIO council.

Randolph was heard on the last day of the council's nine-day session, Feb. 20 to 28. He said that labor had "failed completely" to drive out jimcrow. He urged Meany to put the same energy in a civil rights campaign as he had against "communism" and "corruption" in the AFL-CIO.

MEANY BLAMED: Of labor's past effort, Randolph said: "I feel that it failed because the president [Meany] had not placed the full weight of his moral force behind the civil rights committee and therefore there is need for reorganization.

"I feel the committee could become more effective if Meany himself became chairman and a Negro was appointed director in order that the principle of equality for colored trade unionists could become quite evident."

Randolph also pointed out that it had taken Meany two years to get a single Negro electrical worker employed on a government building in Washington and an equal time to get two Negro electricians into a Cleveland local of the Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Meany answered with a defense of the federation's record and an attack on the NALC. He accused the Negro unionists of launching "broadsides" against the AFL-CIO without checking the validity of the complaints. He said they had been guilty of "criticism" and "slander" against the AFL-CIO.

THEIR OWN BUSINESS: Meany said he did not object to NALC "if they will keep out of our business and attend to their own." He defined the Negro council's business as "helping their people and bringing to our attention, in a proper and orderly way, things they think we can do to be helpful."

Although Meany's words were clearly aimed at him, Randolph said: "I'm not making any charges that George Meany himself is not opposed to racial discrimination. I know that he is and that he is a person of high integrity. But the practice of racial discrimination has reached the level of institutionalization in unions and something drastic has to be done to bring about a change."

Randolph proposed that the council study his program for four months before making a decision at its next meeting June 26.

If a fight against jimcrow was not high priority in the House of Labor, it was "at the top of the program" for one of its outcasts. Albert J. Fitzgerald, president of the independent United Electrical Workers (UE), called on all unions to "fight for the shorter work week, full equality on the job and full freedom for the Negro people."

Fitzgerald estimated that there are 8,440,000 persons unemployed or working part-time. Of these, 1,800,000 are Negroes. The average work week for industrial workers is 39.9 hours. The adoption of a 35-hour week with no cut in pay, Fitzgerald said, would provide 8,375,000 new jobs. Because "unemployment hits our Negro brothers and sisters harder than anyone else," he added, "the shorter work week has special urgency for the Negro people."

Baltimore Afro-American

New man of distinction

THE VOTERS HEAR THE LEGISLATORS

Rep. Ryan reports on fight against Un-Americans

By John Fellows

NUCLEAR WEAPONS control, abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the establishment of a National Peace Agency to assess problems of disarmament were among measures discussed by 300 persons who attended the first West Side Legislative Conference at the Joan of Arc High School on Manhattan's Upper West Side, Feb. 25. The conference was a refreshing departure from New York's traditional ward-boss politics.

Among legislators who attended the conference sponsored by the West Side Reform Clubs were Rep. William Fitts Ryan, State Sen. Manfred Ohrenstein and Assemblymen Daniel M. Kelly and Bentley Kassel, Independent Democrats.

An all-day session was conducted in a series of panel discussions on nuclear policy and arms control, civil rights, education and schools, housing and urban renewal, medical and health problems and city charter reform. Panel reports were followed by a public meeting with questions and discussion from the floor.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION: To know the thinking of the electorate on pending legislation confronts the legislator with one of his most difficult problems, said Rep. Ryan, Independent Democrat from the 20th Congressional District whose victory over the machine-backed Democratic incumbent last fall was something of a political sensation.

He said the conference was called to help narrow the gap between voter and elected representative and to bring back to the citizen a much-needed sense of direct participation in government.

Ryan reported that on the first day of Congress he joined with Rep. James Roosevelt in a drive to limit appropriations for the House Un-American Activities Committee: "The Committee has existed on the myth that it is a bulwark against Communism. On the contrary, it has served no useful legislative purpose against Communism or anything else and has expended vast sums in stifling freedom of dissent and in violating civil liberties," he said.

FOR PEACE AGENCY: Ryan has also

REP. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
The committee exists on a myth

supported a bill to create a National Peace Agency to explore international tensions, do research for effective arms control and to develop measures to help nations adjust to the inevitable economic impact of disarmament.

State Sen. Ohrenstein, who is serving a first term from the 25th Senatorial District, said he is sponsoring a resolution in Albany calling on Congress to end the discriminatory provisions of the McCarran Act and to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The proposed installation of a critical nuclear reactor at Columbia University in the heart of New York City is being opposed by Assemblyman Kelly, who said he is pressing a measure to create a commission to study the effects of such a reactor upon a densely populated metropolitan area.

The use of Title I funds for luxury housing was assailed by Assemblyman Kassel as a gross misuse of public money intended for slum clearance projects.

Among proposals that emerged from the panel discussions were:

- To set up an independent health agency to study the effects of fallout.
- To withhold Federal funds from institutions of higher learning that practice segregation.
- To expand the public college education program to make higher education available to larger numbers of students.

Rep. Ryan announced that he is opening an office at 100 West 72nd Street, Room 308, in Manhattan, where he will be available to any interested citizen on matters of pending or suggested legislation. "Citizen and legislator must learn to work closely together to make government truly representative," he said.

Uphaus in Chicago March 28

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS, noted pacifist and educator, will speak in Chicago on Tuesday evening, March 28, at 32 W. Randolph St., Hall C-1. His subject will be: "I went to jail for freedom." Admission is $1.

Committee for a Democratic Spain

THE TIME HAS COME for a new effort to persuade our government to withdraw its moral and economic support from the fascist Franco regime put into power in Spain by Hitler and Mussolini. For this purpose, and to give such aid as is possible to the forces inside and outside Spain seeking freedom from the Franco dictatorship, the Committee for a Democratic Spain has been formed.

The Committee will issue a newsletter that will report the significant developments in the struggle for a free Spain. Through public meetings the Committee intends to inform and arouse the American people about the true character of the Franco regime and the real prospects for liberation in Spain.

Special efforts will be made to influence the Kennedy Administration and the Congress to act in accordance with our American traditions of democracy and in the interest of our true national security by breaking the bonds of aid to Franco and encouraging the democratic impulses inside Spain. It is the Committee's intention to make the 25th anniversary of the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, which occurs on July 19, 1961, a special period of rededication to the freedom of the Spanish people.

Throughout Franco Spain there are significant stirrings of revolt. Important groups similar to this Committee are active in Great Britain, France and Latin America, as well as a world-wide movement for amnesty for Franco's political prisoners. We intend close liaison and cooperation with all these efforts. We greet the recent upsurge of resistance to Franco's fellow-dictator Salazar in neighboring Portugal as part of the irresistible drive for the elimination of dictators from the entire Iberian peninsula.

The officers of the Committee for a Democratic Spain are Waldo Frank, novelist and historian, chairman; Freda Kirchwey, former editor and publisher of The Nation, and Dr. Otto Nathan, economist and executor of the Albert Einstein estate, vice-chairmen; and Mario. de Salegui, secretary-treasurer.

The Committee urges the interest and participation of all who share our aims.

Committee for a Democratic Spain
P.O. Box 159, Cathedral Station
New York 25, N.Y.

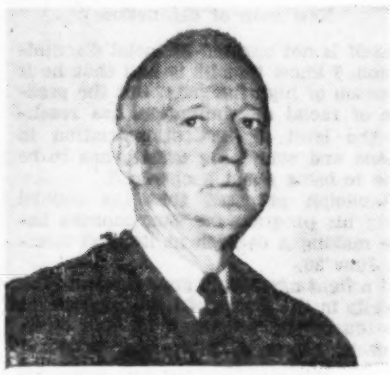
The fear in Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

bers of Congress.

EXAGGERATION: The 412 votes for the committee exaggerates the extent of Congressional approval. Of the 29 who participated in the debate (only nine spoke on the floor), five were critical, nine on the pro side were Dixiecrats, and seven were Republicans. Except for Rep. Thomas Lane (D-Mass.), Everett Hagen (D-Calif.) and members of the Committee, other northern Democrats stayed out of the debate.

The defeat of 20 liberal Democrats in the 1960 elections reduced the number of open declarations of opposition to the committee. Those defeats also increased fears of red-baiting political reprisal and led many hostile Congressmen to go along with the 1961 appropriation. The New York **Times** commented March 5: "It is no secret that the lopsided majority it [the committee] always wins . . . reflects in part the fear that a negative vote might be political suicide."



JUSTICE HUGO BLACK
The dissent was vigorous

The gathering opposition to the House Un-American Committee has made it one of the hottest issues in the 87th Congress. The atmosphere was tense during the debate and vote on the appropriation. For several days it was a major topic in the corridors and lunch rooms of Congress. Behind it was the upsurge of criticism of the committee in the churches, colleges and the press, the passionate dissents of the Supreme Court in the Wilkinson-Braden cases and the heated controversy over the distorted film "Operation Abolition." Champions of the committee felt challenged because the breadth and quality of the attack threatened the committee's absolute power and sacred authority. Liberal Congressmen were troubled by the growing demand that they stand up to the committee.

THE SUPPORTERS: The committee has conducted no hearings since August, 1960, and has put its staff of more than 50 persons to work drumming up support. Backing comes from the same groups that gave major support to the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy and now regard Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) as their hero. They include the American Legion and other veterans organizations, the DAR, the Polish National Alliance and other Eastern European national groups, the professional patriotic groups, various action groups associated with the Catholic Church, and many powerful corporations—as well as the hate and racist groups of the fascist fringe.

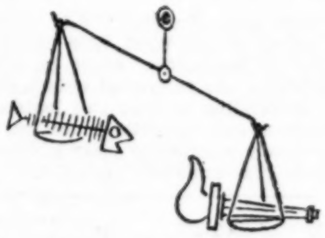
This network accounts for most of the 700 prints sold of the film-forgery "Operation Abolition" — which committee chairman Walter boasts has now been shown to 12,000,000 Americans — and keeps Congress flooded with resolutions, wires and letters urging support of the committee. Just before the March 1 vote, a delegation of several hundred American Legionnaires lobbied Congressmen for the appropriation.

Before the March 1 vote, committee members and supporters salted the **Congressional Record** each day with all the endorsements they could gather. In a recent two-day period these included editorials and statements from the New York **Daily News**, the Pasadena (Calif.) **Star News**, the Los Angeles **Times**, from Herbert Philbrick (**I Led Three Lives**), Rev. Daniel Poling, the GOP Women's Clubs of New Hampshire, the American Jewish League Against Communism and Young Americans for Freedom on several campuses. Only very recently and in a limited fashion were some of the impressive anti-committee declarations printed in the **Congressional Record.**

SHORT DEBATE: On Feb. 28 the House Republican Policy Committee reaffirmed its support of the committee and charged that "for many years the Communist Party, its front and action organizations together with left-wing and self-styled liberal organizations, have sought to weaken the effectiveness of or abolish the committee . . ."

The debate on the appropriation was brief. Three of the nine who spoke represented the House Administration Committee handling the appropriation. The others were Walter (D-Pa.) and Gordon Scherer (R-Ohio), with brief assists from Reps. Samuel L. Devine (R-Ohio) and J. Arthur Younger (R-Calif.) for the committee; and Reps. Roosevelt and Ryan in opposition. The 20 other participants submitted written remarks which appear in the **Record** as though actually having been spoken in the floor debate.

The Administration Committee chairman, Omar Burleson (D-Tex.), supported the committee and told the House he had received "thousands of letters and petitions on both sides of this issue," but that he "declined to yield to the demands [for public hearings] simply because I did not propose that the Committee should furnish a forum to many of the left-wing groups in this country which obviously sought an opportunity." Scherer led off the debate: "Now the left-wing, the youth pinks, and the Communists in this country are trying to starve the Committee to death . . ."



DISSENTS IN THE RECORD: Roosevelt put the dissenting opinions in the Wilkinson and Braden cases into the **Record** and said they set forth the basis of the case against the committee. After a cheering standing ovation from the House, Walter answered Roosevelt with a bitter, personal, red-baiting attack. When Roosevelt objected to Walter's attack as "reflecting on my integrity," Walter refused to yield and replied: "I intended to." Walter charged Roosevelt with "insincerity," "falsehood," and sympathy with communism. He put the majority decisions in the Wilkinson and Braden cases in the **Record** and indicated an early attack on the Black-Douglas Warren-Brennan dissents.

Ryan, the reform Democrat who recently defeated a Tammany incumbent in New York City, made his first speech in Congress, a strong and effective justification of his opposition to the committee. He said: "There are many thoughtful, responsible and sincere citizens who share my belief that the House Un-American Activities Committee has violated the fundamental liberties upon which our nation was founded. In its zeal to investigate it has spread fear and suspicion and stifled freedom of dissent. And it has expended great energy and public funds in attempting to justify its own existence."

THE LINE-UP: Of the 434 members of Congress, probably 200 are fervent supporters of the committee. Probably 100 would vote against the committee on a secret ballot. The remainder are neutral, cynical, "going along with the crowd." Some who oppose the committee but vote for it—especially those from closely-divided marginal districts—undoubtedly have serious grounds for concern about "political suicide." Others who come from "safe" districts and yet vote for the committee even though they know better, have no excuse at all. This is particularly true of the big city Democratic delegations from New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Cleveland.

On Feb. 27 Walter announced that for reasons of health he would not be a candidate for reelection in 1962. His place as chairman of the committee would presumably be taken by Rep. Morgan Moulder of Missouri. Walter, as chairman of the House Patronage Committee, chairman of the House Democratic Caucus, chairman of the Pennsylvania Democratic Congressional delegation, and chairman of the House committee handling all foreign born, immigration and

naturalization matters, has brought great power and influence to his chairmanship of the Un-American Committee.

In contrast, Moulder is an undistinguished Congressman lacking in stature, reelected by a tiny majority in 1960, and implicated in the 1960 Un-American Committee expense account scandal exposed a year ago. Many observers believe that Walter's disappearance will give added impetus to the drive to abolish the committee.

BRADEN COMMENTS ON THE COURT RULING

A blow to the fight for civil rights

The following is Carl Braden's reply to a GUARDIAN request for his comments on the Supreme Court decision upholding his contempt conviction and that of Frank Wilkinson:

ONE OF THE MOST important effects of the Wilkinson and Braden decisions will be the stifling of activity by white people in the South who have been working with Negroes to bring about equal rights. Justice Hugo Black said this in so many words in a part of his dissenting opinion which did not appear in the text printed in the New York **Times** or in any other newspaper.

Both the Black and Douglas dissents in Braden v. U.S. leave no doubt of their belief that my subpenaing by the committee was an outgrowth of the Wade house purchase in 1954. Both Justices make this clear on the first pages of their dissents. Justice Black makes this point more emphatic by appending a footnote about the house purchase. [Carl and Anne Braden were indicted for sedition in Kentucky and Braden was convicted and sentenced to 15 years after the Bradens helped purchase a house in an all-white neighborhood in Louisville for Andrew Wade, a Negro. Braden served eight months in prison before his conviction was reversed following a Supreme Court ruling against state sedition laws.]

YOU ASKED ME what effect this will have on the abolition fight. I think it should spur this movement, but I fear that this movement is going to be crippled unless it ties in with the struggle for equal justice for Negroes. For one of the basic purposes of these committees (the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, state committees) is to keep Negroes from getting their rights.

The New York **Times** and others attempt to obscure this by leaving out the part of the Court opinions saying just this. I hope that the liberals and progressives in the East, North, and West will not fall for this line.

If they see the deep connection between these two struggles, then they can add immensely to the drive which must be behind the abolition campaign. If they can't, then they will be talking in the wind. For the most compelling example of what the witch-hunt committees do is what they have done and are doing to the civil rights movement.

CARL BRADEN
A question of time

As for me, I shall fight to the last ditch until the prison door closes, and then I shall continue to fight from inside. For I have come to the conclusion that some of us are more valuable in jail than out, and I may be one of these. Time alone will tell.

An African speaks out on Africa

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, like the speech by Premier Nkrumah on page 7, is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting for an informed viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.

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THE AFTERMATH OF BRADEN AND WILKINSON

The legal and political impact of the Supreme Court decisions

By Joanne Grant

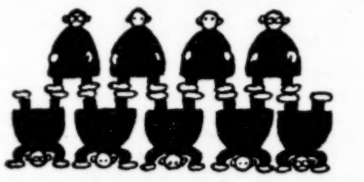
THE SIGNIFICANCE of the Supreme Court rulings upholding the contempt convictions against Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden will be far-reaching. Legally, the decisions are a victory for the House Committee on Un-American Activities; politically, they must be a challenge and a spur to the gathering movement to abolish the committee.

The Court's five-man majority found that an Un-American subcommittee had a legitimate purpose in questioning Wilkinson and Braden at hearings in Atlanta in 1958. It also found that the subcommittee had reason to believe that Braden and Wilkinson might be Communists and therefore the questions did not violate their First Amendment rights and were pertinent to the hearings.

Subject of the hearings was "Communist colonization and infiltration in the textile and other basic industries located in the South, and Communist Party propaganda activities in the South." The legislative purpose, stated in a committee resolution, was to obtain information in consideration of amendments to the Communist Control Act of 1954 and the Foreign Agents Registration Act and national defense and internal security legislation.

CLOSE TIMING: Wilkinson was subpenaed an hour after arriving in Atlanta to help organize a protest against the hearings. Braden was called from a vacation in Rhode Island. Wilkinson is now field representative of the Natl. Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, and Braden is field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

The majority opinion in the Wilkinson case said that the committee resolution authorizing the hearings "expressly



referred to two legislative proposals"; that the chairman's statement at the opening "contained a lengthy discussion of legislation"; that the "staff director's statement to the petitioner also discussed legislation which the committee had under consideration." In answer to Wilkinson's contention that the subcommittee subpenaed him because of his public activities against the committee, the Court said the fact that he was subpenaed after his arrival in Atlanta did not "necessarily lead to the conclusion that the subcommittee's intent was personal persecution." The Court said: "Moreover, it is not for us to speculate as to the motivations that may have prompted the decision of individual members of the subcommittee to summon the petitioner."

On a second important question—that of questions which Wilkinson refused to answer—the Court said:

"Indeed, it is difficult to imagine a preliminary question more pertinent to the topics under investigation than whether petitioner was in fact a member of the Communist Party." The subcommittee "had reason to believe at the time it summoned the petitioner that he was an active Communist leader engaged primarily in propaganda activities," for "at a prior hearing the petitioner had been identified as a Communist Party member."

On two other questions—the authority of the committee to investigate and the witness' First Amendment rights— the Court relied on its 1959 decision in **Barenblatt v. United States.** Quoting from **Barenblatt,** the Court said:

"That Congress has wide power to legislate in the field of Communist activity in this country, and to conduct appropriate investigations in aid thereof, is hardly debatable . . . In the last analysis this power rests on the right of self-preservation . . ."

To Wilkinson's contention that his First Amendment guarantees of free speech, assembly and petition had been violated, the Court applied the **Barenblatt** decision's "balancing test"—that is, the balancing of the rights of the individual against considerations of national security.

The Court also said Wilkinson's statement that his activities consisted of public criticism of the committee and attempts to promote its abolition made no difference: "But we cannot say that, simply because the petitioner at the moment may have been engaged in lawful conduct, his Communist activities in connection therewith could not be investigated."

THE CHALLENGE: The vigorous dissents of four of the nine Justices provide a challenge to the growing numbers who oppose the existence of the committee. Four questions not dealt with adequately by the majority were the basis for the dissenting opinions of Justices Black, Douglas and Brennan and Chief Justice Earl Warren. The questions were: (1) the First Amendment rights of the petitioners; (2) the committee's mandate; (3) the committee's lack of legislative purpose; (4) the committee's punishment of witnesses by exposure.

In his dissent in the Braden case Justice Black said that the Court had set up a series of tests to determine whether or not First Amendment rights had been abridged. He wrote:

"Significantly, in none of these 'tests' does the result to be obtained depend upon the question whether there has been an abridgement of rights protected by the plain language of the Bill of Rights." He attacked the Court's balancing of the nation's interest in "self-preservation" and individual freedoms thus:

"I once more deny, as I have found it repeatedly necessary to do in other cases, that this nation's ability to preserve itself depends upon suppression of the freedoms of religion, speech, press, assembly and petition. But I do believe that the noble-sounding slogan of 'self-preservation' rests upon a premise that can itself destroy any democratic nation by a slow process of eating away at the liberties that are indispensable to its healthy growth . . . When it [the nation] begins to send its dissenters, such as Barenblatt, Uphaus, Wilkinson, and now Braden, to jail, the liberties indispensable to its existence must be fast disappearing."

WATKINS DECISION: In his Braden dissent Justice Douglas quoted from the Court's 6 to 1 decision in 1957 rejecting a contempt citation of John Watkins, a trade unionist who had refused to answer committee questions about the political beliefs of others. The opinion then said that the meaning of "un-American" in the resolution defining the committee's authority was so vague that it was "difficult to imagine a less explicit authorizing resolution."

The committee's authorizing resolution says that it may investigate all questions related to un-American propaganda of foreign and domestic origin; the Watkins decision asked: Who can define it? Black concurred with Douglas' opinion in the Wilkinson case that "the resolution authorizing the Un-American Activities Committee does not authorize that committee to interrogate a person for criticizing it."

The majority opinion ignored the committee's record of exposure for exposure's sake. It also was silent on the committee's power to punish its witnesses by publicity. Even the dissents failed to emphasize the committee's annual boasts of its "exposures."

The 76th Congress report of the committee said: "The purpose of this committee is the task of protecting our constitutional democracy by turning the light of pitiless publicity on [these] organizations." In the 77th it said: "This committee is the only agency of government that has the power of exposure . . . There are many phases of un-American activities that cannot be reached by legislation or administrative action. We believe that the committee has shown that fearless exposure . . . is the . . . answer."

In its report of its work during the 86th Congress the committee denied that it sought exposure for exposure's sake, but added: "Of course, rightly considered, the educational or informing process is concerned with exposure, when the truth is concealed . . ."

THE RISK: The committee's power of punishment was denounced by Justice Black who said that anyone who takes

a public position opposed to the committee's runs the risk of "being accused by the committee of membership in the Communist Party, of being held up to the public as a subversive and a traitor, of being jailed for contempt if he refuses to cooperate with the committee in its probe of his mind and associations, and of being branded by his neighbors, employer and erstwhile friends as a menace to society **regardless of the outcome of that hearing.**"

The majority skirted the issue of the committee's power to punish its critics when it said: ". . . We can find nothing to indicate that it was the intent of Congress to immunize from interrogation all those (and there are many) who are opposed to the existence of the Un-American Activities Committee."

Justice Douglas, dissenting in the Braden case, said that it had not been shown, "unless the bare word of the committeee is taken as gospel," that Braden's activities had anything to do with "communism, subversion, or illegal activity of any sort or kind . . . Some demonstrable connection with communism must first be established and the matter be plainly shown to be within the scope of the committee's authority. Otherwise the committee may roam at will, requiring any individual to expose his association with any group or with any publication which is unpopular with the committee and which it can discredit by calling it communistic."

UNEQUIVOCAL TERMS: In thus describing the protection of the First Amendment rights of some (i.e., non-communists) Justice Douglas' opinion was less penetrating than Justice Black's which said:

"Our Constitution, in unequivocal terms, gives the right to each of us to say what we think without fear of the power of the government . . . Least of all do I believe that such a privilege should be accorded the House Un-American Activities Committee. For I believe that true Americanism is to be protected, not by committees that prosecute unorthodox minorities, but by strict adherence to basic principles of freedom that are responsible for this nation's greatness."

Justice Black accused the majority of "a sweeping abdication of judicial power" by which the committee "may continue to harass its opponents with absolute impunity . . ."

The most far-reaching aspect of the Court's decisions was its definition of legislative purpose. In accepting a statement by the committee chairman or counsel or a statement of purpose in the committee's resolution authorizing a subcommittee to conduct a hearing as sufficient indication of a hearing's legislative purpose, the Court granted sweeping power to the committee. (Those who oppose the committee may take some heart in the probability that the Court must now consider separately each future challenge of the committee.) On this question Justice Black said:

The balancing test means the committee may "engage in any inquiry a majority of this Court happens to think could possibly be for a legitimate purpose whether that 'purpose' be the true reason for the inquiry or not. And under the tests of legitimacy that are used in this area, any first-year law school student worth his salt could construe a rationalization to justify almost any question put to any witness at any time."

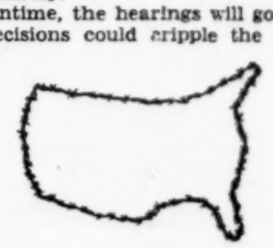
The majority accepted the committee chairman's statement at the opening of the Atlanta hearings in which he said: "In the course of the last few years, as a result of hearings and investigations, this committee has made over 80 separate recommendations for legislative action. Legislation has been passed by the Congress embracing 35 of the committee recommendations . . ."

Even the dissenters failed to note that in the 23 years of its existence the committee has held only seven hearings on specific legislation and that of 36,000 bills referred to various committees by three Congresses only ten were sent to the Un-American Activities Committee and they died without hearings. From 1950 to 1959 the committee held not one hearing dealing with specific legislation.

A SET-BACK: Though the Court's minority may some day become majority, the immediate effect of these two decisions is a severe set-back for civil liberties. There are 40 First Amendment cases pending for which these decisions may serve as precedent. Six of these have petitioned to be heard by the Supreme Court and one petition has already been granted. Five others—Pete Seeger, George Tyne, Elliot Sullivan, Harvey O'Connor and Martin Popper—will soon be tried in Federal Courts.

Requests for re-hearings are under consideration in the Wilkinson and Braden cases. Possible bases for the requests are: (1) the Court's failure to consider the history of the committee for which there is ample evidence that its basic function is exposure; (2) the Court's acceptance of the committee statement of legislative purpose and its failure to note, as Justice Douglas' dissent did, that the committee was directing its fire at its critics; (3) the Court's failure to face the First Amendment issue squarely.

Meantime, the hearings will go on and the decisions could cripple the integra-



tion movement. The Braden case was directly involved with that issue. Justice Black in his dissent said:

"If the House Un-American Activities Committee is to have the power to interrogate everyone who is called a communist (and I think the decision in this case, as well as that in **Wilkinson v. United States,** also decided today, demonstrates conclusively that the committee is to have at least that much power), there is one thing certain beyond the peradventure of a doubt—no legislative committee, state or Federal, will have trouble finding cause to subpena all persons anywhere who take a public stand for or against segregation."

Justice Black said the decision "may well strip the Negro of the aid of any of the white people who have been willing to speak up in his behalf."

THE REVELATIONS IN HAVANA

How the U. S. press helps educate Cubans

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

AN EDUCATION in imperialist viciousness and the imperatives of revolutionary consolidation continues to be given the Cuban people by the U.S. press, whose ineptitude in the lie department I have heard Cubans call "inspired." A story banner-headlined by the Miami News on Feb. 17—"RUSSIANS BUILD CUBA BASE"—caused such delight here that leading newspapers reprinted it in full. It referred to a "smuggled-out microfilm report" concerning Cayo Largo south of Cienfuegos, where one of the many new people's tourist resorts is being built.

Canals there, it said, are being dredged and "screened" to "protect large [Russian] ships from view"; a "heavily armed 'fishing' boat with powerful radio communications" is patrolling offshore with "orders to sink any craft found in the area after dark"; there are a landing strip and "an enormous arsenal of armaments and a long-range communications system linking the base with Havana"; nobody can go there but "bigwigs in Castro's army and Soviet technicians and diplomats"; and "15 soldiers who openly criticized . . . were executed at the disciplinary barracks."

THE SAD FACTS: The facts are almost sad by comparison. The 'fishing' boat is a fishing boat: it probably carries a gun, and certainly any unknown craft approaching any part of the Cuban coast after dark would be fired on just now. Undoubtedly there are some arms at the resort (as everywhere in Cuba) and a phone connection with Havana has been installed. The landing strip is so that tourists can land. The canals have been dredged because it makes them both more attractive and more useful for the new tomato, melon and pumpkin farms on the Cay.

But what really fascinates Cubans is the "microfilm" bit (they already know about the U.S.' self-hypnotism with this word since Whittaker Chambers first chilled spines with it). The poor little truth is that anyone can go any time to Cayo Largo, where tourists seeking quiet weekends are no more screened than canals. If anyone wants to take pictures, an ordinary Brownie and Kodak roll will do.

Both AP and UPI have resident correspondents in Havana, who send out each day equally distressing testimony to the poverty of U.S. newspapermen's imagination as compared with, say, Graham Greene's. To portray Cuba as a "communist dictatorship" with all liberties suppressed, their stories abound in smuggled microfilm and clandestinely circulated documents. Yet the Miami News containing these "revelations" is on sale throughout Havana to eccentrics deeming it worth 25c. In fact, at the newsstand of my own hotel—which had sold out of Cuban papers before breakfast—it was the only paper available at 9 a.m. on this particular day.

KERNEL OF TRUTH: With regard to the daily U.S. press accounts of the anti-Castro "liberation army" in the Escambray mountains, the only truth in them is that scattered counterrevolutionary groups are still at large but encircled there—probably not more than two to three hundred in all. Medium-sized landowners in the district, who have been touched little so far by land reform, are believed to be helping them.

The Escambray mop-up by the militia is proceeding with deliberate slowness so that the life and activity of the people remains undisrupted. Not much about the operation is being published here, the government being more interested in doing the job thoroughly than in propaganda. But Castro devoted a large part of a recent speech in the area to a frank explanation of what is going on and how it came about.

In the same issue as the "Russian base" story, the Miami News ran a fully documented account of the "new wave" of hunger, evictions and joblessness in California. Such reports help to round out the education of Cubans and clarify the socialist line.

QUESTION TO KENNEDY: In his last speech, referring to the mass volunteer campaign to bring in the sugar harvest, Castro noted that it was Cuba's successes that "give Kennedy sleepless nights" and asked him:

"If your system is better than ours, why is it that without economic aggression, without embargoes on machinery, without anybody preventing you from freely obtaining raw materials, your country admits growing unemployment and the approach of a real crisis—while in our country, with all these aggressions, there are no such problems?

"The fact is that this imperialist system is condemned to failure—for work has turned into an enemy of progress: more work means more hunger. But work is the only thing in the world that can create wellbeing. When a people must renounce work it is condemned to ruin. And the North American people has to renounce work simply so that the parasites may flourish."

This was one of Castro's most militant speeches to date; but a few days later he re-emphasized to a UPI man (who happened upon him in a cafe) Cuba's desire for a peaceful understanding with the U.S. on a basis of equality and mutual respect. On the next day Sen. Wayne Morse's call for negotiation of U.S.-Cuban differences through the Organization of American States was warmly welcomed here.

CONGO LESSON: Cuban instruction in the imperialist facts of life has had another big push from the recent events in the Congo. Lumumba immediately became one of the martyr-heroes of the Cuban people, and it was brought home even more vividly than before that without a timely, realistic anti-imperialist line Cuba's revolution might already have been drowned in blood. Every newspaper and radio commentary drew the moral. The memory of the Latin American revolutionary martyrs down the years was evoked, with this new spotlight on the struggle to which they gave their lives.

Cuba heard the murdered Lumumba's voice "speaking," as poet Guillen wrote, "with dramatic eloquence . . . . Each time imperialism kills, the victim achieves imperishable life." With wreaths suitably inscribed to Lumumba's memory, delegations streamed to the Belgian embassy in Havana's country-club suburb, leaving the front yard carpeted with flowers as if the martyr's body were buried there. A huge demonstration of young folk on Havana University's steps vowed anew to wipe imperialism off the earth, and roared support of Foreign Minister Roa's demand for the resignation of UN chief Hammarskjold. (At 3 p.m. next day sirens blew and in every factory, farm and office the workers observed a silence for the dead African leader and sang their revolutionary anthem. The trade union movement started passing the hat for a Lumumba statue to be erected here.

Everyone in Cuba felt that the government of Lumumba's successor, Gizenga, was the only legitimate government of the Congo Republic. The Miami News and U.S. radio said it was "communist," supported by "Moscow and its communist allies." Which countries had recognized the Gizenga government, in addition to Cuba and the U.S.S.R.? The names were in the press: United Arab Republic, Guinea, Yugoslavia, Ghana, Indonesia, Poland, Morocco and the provisional government of Algeria.

THE BILLBOARDS OF HAVANA: A STUDY IN CONSTRASTS

The poster at the left says: "Will this boy be believer or atheist? It depends on you. Pray for him and cooperate with catechism. March 5 is Catechism Day." The one at right, printed by the electrical industry, reads: "Will this boy be patriot or traitor? It depends on you. Teach him the work of the Revolution. Our country or Death! We shall win."

To Siqueiros—at parting

Siqueiros, in this midwinter's light
I leave you Cuba's liberated heart,
and don't forget that I await you
in my land of earthquakes and of snow.

I have seen your murals behind bars
stand up like a flame against the cold.

And it pains me, this outrage, as I leave.
Your painting is the well-beloved land,
All Mexico is prisoner with you.

Pablo Neruda
Mexico City
Jan. 9, 1961

The foremost living Mexican muralist, David Alfaro Siqueiros, has been imprisoned since last Aug. 9 by his government on a charge of "tending to cause social dissolution." He was actually arrested for his support of the cause of thousands of striking railroad workers, and has been held without trial for the last seven months, with the threat of a seven-year prison term hanging over him.

He has already taken part in a hunger strike protesting the illegal confinement of many workers who were arrested months before and still await trial.

The above photograph of Siqueiros in the Lecumberri prison in Mexico City, as well as the poem of Pablo Neruda, are published as a reminder that your appeals to the President of Mexico, Alfonso Lopez Mateos, may yet be instrumental in securing the release of Siqueiros and his comrades.

Canon Collins to speak at N.Y. SANE rally March 16

CANON JOHN COLLINS of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, England, will be the main speaker at a meeting on March 16 sponsored by the New York Committees for a Sane Nuclear Policy. The meeting, to be held at the Ethical Culture Society, 64th St. and Central Park West, at 8 p.m., will be devoted to the theme of "Security Through World Disarmament."

SANE, U.S.A.

Canon Collins, chairman of Great Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, personally led the 1958, 1959 and 1960 Aldermaston Marches. Films of the 1960 March will be shown at the meeting. No admission will be charged.

GHANA'S PRIME MINISTER NKRUMAH SPEAKS OUT ON THE CONGO

An African leader warns the great powers

Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana is in the U.S. for the reconvened UN General Assembly session, and scheduled to meet with President Kennedy March 8. When U. S. Ambassador to Accra Francis H. Russell recently presented his credentials to the Prime Minister, Dr. Nkrumah took the occasion to send a 12-page letter to President Kennedy giving his views on African problems and especially on the Congo. The President responded. In view of these developments, a speech broadcast by Dr. Nkrumah late last month takes on unusual significance. The speech, as it was printed in the London Tribune *Feb. 24, appears below. A few days after it was made, Dr. Nkrumah announced he had evidence that Prime Minister Lumumba of the Congo had been murdered by a Belgian officer late in January.*

SOMEWHERE IN Katanga in the Congo—where and when we do not know—three of our brother freedom fighters have been done to death.

There have been killed Patrice Lumumba, the Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo; Maurice Mpolo, the Minister in his government, who was elected from Katanga Province; and Joseph Okito, the Vice President of the Congolese Senate.

About their end many things are uncertain, but one fact is crystal clear: they have been killed because the United Nations, whom Patrice Lumumba himself, as Prime Minister, had invited to the Congo to preserve law and order, not only failed to maintain that law and order, but also denied to the lawful government of the Congo all other means of self-protection.

History records many occasions when rulers of states have been assassinated. The murder of Patrice Lumumba and of his two colleagues, however, is unique in that this is the first time in history that the legal ruler of a country has been done to death with the open connivance of a world organization in whom that ruler put his trust.

These are the facts. Patrice Lumumba was appointed Prime Minister by the

Jacques Naret, Humanite, Paris

departing Belgian authorities, because he was the leader of the parliamentary party with the largest representation and was the only Member of Parliament who could obtain a majority in both the Senate and the Chamber.

Kasavubu was subsequently elected as the ceremonial head of the state, but it was clearly agreed and understood that he should have no more authority or power than has the King of the Belgians in Belgium. This fact, clearly written into the constitution of the Congo, has been deliberately ignored and distorted by those who have sought for their own ends to give some appearance of legality to the military usurpers and the agent of colonial rule who have illegally seized power in some parts of the Congo.

SHORTLY AFTER independence, the Congolese army mutinied. Patrice Lumumba and his colleagues had to secure outside support from somewhere if they were to preserve the legal structure of the state.

In the interests of world peace, and in order to prevent the cold war being brought into Africa, Patrice Lumumba invited the United Nations to preserve law and order. The United Nations insisted that they should have the sole mandate to do this and that the legal government of the Congo should not obtain that military assistance which would have otherwise been forthcoming from many other friendly African states.

However, instead of preserving law and order, the United Nations declared itself neutral between law and disorder, and refused to lend any assistance whatsoever to the legal government in suppressing the mutineers who had set themselves up in power in Katanga and the South Kasai.

When, in order to move its troops against the rebels, the government of the Congo obtained some civilian aircraft and civilian motor vehicles from the Soviet Union, the colonialist powers at the United Nations raised a howl of rage while, at the same time, maintaining a discreet silence over the build-up of Belgian arms and actual Belgian military forces in the service of the rebels.

WITH A TOTAL disregard of the constitution, which expressly provided that the President could not dismiss the Prime Minister unless there had been a vote of "no confidence" in the Parliament, Kasavubu illegally tried to remove Patrice Lumumba from office and to substitute another government. When Lumumba wished to broadcast to the people, explaining what had happened, the United Nations, in the so-called interests of law and order, prevented him by force from speaking.

They did not however, use the same force to prevent the mutineers of the Congolese army from seizing power in Leopoldville and installing a completely illegal government.

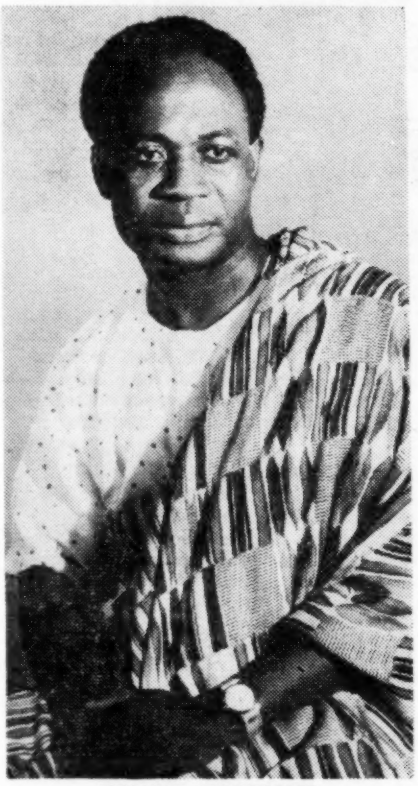
Despite the fact that one of the most important reasons for United Nations action was supposedly to see that all Belgian forces were removed, the United Nations sat by while the so-called Katanga government, which is entirely Belgian-controlled, imported aircraft and arms from Belgium and from other countries, such as South Africa, which have a vested interest in the suppression of African freedom. The United Nations connived at the setting-up, in fact, of an independent Katanga state, though this is contrary to the Security Council's own resolutions.

Finally, the United Nations, which could exert its authority to prevent Patrice Lumumba from broadcasting, was, so it pleaded, quite unable to prevent his arrest by mutineers or his transfer, through the use of airfields under United Nations control, into the hands of the Belgian-dominated government of Katanga.

The United Nations is, on behalf of all its members, in control of the finances of the Congo. It is now two months since I personally wrote to Mr. Hammarskjold to ask him where the money came from which is being used to pay the soldiers in Mobutu's illegal army. I am still awaiting an answer.

One thing is certain, however: this money does not come from the revenue of the Congo. It is supplied from outside by those who wish to restore colonialism in practice by maintaining in office a puppet regime entirely financially dependent upon them.

THE TIME HAS COME to speak plainly. The danger in the Congo is not so much the possibility of a civil war between Africans, but rather a colonialist war, in which the colonial and imperialist powers hide behind African puppet regimes.



KWAME NKRUMAH
Their spirit is not dead

At this very moment, Northern Katanga is being laid waste by military units under command of a regular officer of the Belgian army, Colonel Crevecoeur, armed with the most modern weapons, supplied by Belgium.

Recruiting offices have been opened in South Africa, in France, and elsewhere, and wages of over £400 a month are being offered to former German fascist officers and to former collaborators of Hitler and Mussolini in other countries in order to persuade them to enlist in an unholy war against the African people.

Where, I ask again, does the money come from to pay these big salaries and to buy all of this modern and expensive armament which is now being deployed against unarmed peasants and villagers?

The rulers of the United States, of the United Kingdom, of France, and of the other powers who are militarily allied with Belgium, must answer these questions.

Why did they express so loudly their indignation when the Soviet Union placed at the disposal of the legal government of the Congo civilian aircraft and civilian vehicles? Why are they so silent when their ally, Belgium, openly supplies military aircraft and armored vehicles to the rebels?

Why is it that no single member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has on any occasion addressed to Belgium any public rebuke for the flagrant breaches of the Security Council resolution in which Belgium is every day indulging? Alas, the architects of this murder are many.

IN GHANA we realize the great financial stakes which some great powers have in the Union Miniere and in other industrial and commercial undertakings in the Congo.

I would, however, ask these powers these questions: Do they really believe that, ultimately, they can safeguard their investments and their interests in the Congo by conniving at a brutal and savage colonialist war?

Do they realize that they are sacrificing African lives to continue in Africa the cold war at the very time when all powers, both great and small, should be concentrating on the abolition of colonialism and the establishment of world peace?

Patrice Lumumba, Maurice Mpolo, and Joseph Okito have died because they put their faith in the United Nations and because they refused to allow themselves to be used as stooges or puppets for external interests.

There is still time for those who have supported this cruel colonialist war in the Congo to change their policy, but time is running out.

The cynical planning of the murder of Patrice Lumumba and his colleagues is a final lesson for us all. We cannot ignore the fact that this crime shows every evidence of the most careful preparation and timing. First there came the handing-over of Patrice Lumumba and others to the Belgian-controlled authorities in Katanga.

Next there came the contemptuous refusal of these same authorities to allow the United Nations Conciliation Committee any access to the prisoners. From this came the final proof that the United Nations would not effectively intervene to save the life of the Prime Minister or his colleagues.

This was followed by the formation of the so-called new Kasavubu government and the warning by Belgium to Belgian nationals to leave those parts of the Congo controlled by the legal government.

Finally came the story so reminiscent of Nazi and fascist technique—the false account of an attempt to escape and the death of the prisoners following upon it.

WHAT ARE the next steps in this plan? The information before me now is that the Kasavubu-Mobutu group has planned an offensive against Orientale Province in an attempt to secure a quick military victory before the Security Council can deal with the matter.

My information is that this plan has been made with the full knowledge of the French and Belgian governments and has their full support.

Let me issue a most serious warning: any such action, unless immediately denounced by the other members of the Security Council, will have a profound effect on African relations with the great powers.

Our dear brothers, Patrice Lumumba, Maurice Mpolo, and Joseph Okito, are dead, and I ask you all to join with me in mourning the loss which the whole African continent has sustained through their cruel murder. But their spirit is not dead, nor are the things for which they stood: African freedom, the unity and independence of Africa and the final and complete destruction of colonialism and imperialism.

The colonialists and imperialists have killed them; but what they cannot do is to kill the ideals which we still preach, and for which they sacrificed their lives.

In the Africa of the future their names will live forever more.

Bubbles in Bumba

IN THE [Congo] countryside an unknown number of units under unknown leaders of unknown loyalties are wandering about for reasons known only to themselves.

One of the few departures from this pattern seemed to be coming early this month when Gen. Joseph D. Mobutu, who commands the forces of the Leopoldville regime, took his best units north to a jumping-off position near Bumba on the Congo River. From there he announced he was going to attack Stanleyville. But in the midst of his martial preparations Gen. Mobutu took what Rajeshwar Dayal of the United Nations called "a slow boat to Bumba." He disappeared for a week-long river journey in the company of his favorite young lady, aboard a riverboat filled with officer friends and well-stocked with champagne and beer.

—Henry Tanner from Leopoldville in the New York **Times** Feb. 26.

Teamsters win

(Continued from Page 1)

tions are performed in the International's office."

MEANY'S MAN: Cayton resigned after filing the report and was replaced with Martin O'Donoghue, an attorney for George Meany's Plumbers Union. From then on the fur flew. O'Donoghue pushed aside other functions and concentrated on getting rid of Hoffa and other officers. The monitorship also became a gravy train. O'Donoghue put on the union payroll a staff of five lawyers, an outside law firm, six secretaries, one analyst and a $20,000-a-year assistant. The staff alone took $12,000 a month from the union treasury.

The monitors ceased functioning while the union took O'Donoghue to court on each action. The executive board moved to hold a convention, which would have ended the monitorship. An appeals court left the date of the convention to Letts' discretion. But it ruled out Godfrey Schmidt as a monitor. He had been counsel for the dissident Teamsters and was appointed to represent them on the monitor board. In all fights he sided with O'Donoghue. The court found that Schmidt simultaneously represented employers with whom the Teamsters bargained.

On leaving, Schmidt handed the Teamsters a bill for $210,000 in legal fees and $17,000 for expenses. The union has refused to pay.

Further hassles developed last year when Schmidt's replacement, Lawrence Smith, refused to go along with O'Donoghue. Letts fired Smith and named Terrence McShane, an FBI agent, in his stead. But on June 2, an appeals court reinstated Smith.

CONGRESSIONAL ISSUE: The monitor mess raised a stir in Congress last spring.

The International Teamster
Unable to dent it!

In the Senate, Republicans Homer Capehart (Ind.) and Styles Bridges (N.H.) and Democrats Wayne Morse (Ore.) and John Carroll (Colo.) called for an end to the monitorship. Six Congressmen introduced a bill to prohibit monitorships.

O'Donoghue resigned and his post remained open while behind-the-scenes negotiations and intrigue continued. Robert F. Kennedy took time out as campaign manager for his brother to try to convince rank-and-file dissidents to accept McShane as a replacement for Smith. But they refused.

Letts' decision last month seemed to recognize the futility of continuing the monitorship. It had already cost the Teamster treasury more than $2,000,000. Most real complaints had been adjusted. In allowing the convention, Letts specified that procedures for electing delegates must meet with court approval. The union must also report to him its actions on reforms recommended by the monitors.

HEAVY ODDS: Hoffa could count the end of the monitorship as another victory against high odds. From the first he has had to fight against the combined weight of a Senate investigating committee, Federal courts, the AFL-CIO hierarchy and a hostile public. For the Senate rackets committee, Hoffa was a convenient dragon, against whom the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law was aimed. The law was advertised as a detergent for dirty unions, but it is really an opening wedge for government control of unions.

Hoffa's squat figure was also a convenient ladder for the Kennedy brothers to lift them to national attention as crusaders for purity.

For the AFL-CIO brass Hoffa was a sacrificial lamb. They joined in denouncing him and expelled the Teamsters in the hope that their invocations against the devil would somehow purify them. There was also the hope that the anti-labor wolves would be sated on Hoffa.

ANOTHER TEST: But whatever sins the investigators dug up against Hoffa, none stood up in court. He was acquitted of bribery and wire-tapping charges. He faces one more test in Florida where a grand jury indicted him on mail fraud charges. The indictment contends that Hoffa misused the mails to promote, at union expense, a real estate development to be known as "Teamsters' Model City of Tomorrow." Hoffa's lawyers, including a former Florida governor, are to be heard March 13 on a motion to dismiss the indictment. They will argue that there is no merit to the case and that the grand jury was empaneled under state rather than Federal rules and the indictment is therefore invalid.

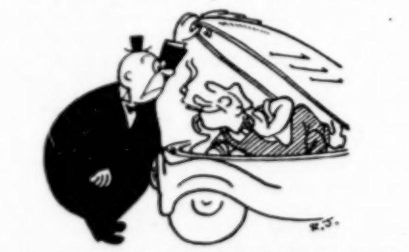
If Hoffa is not a candidate for "man of the year," his abilities as a union leader are abundant. While George Meany complained to the AFL-CIO executive council last month that membership was falling, Hoffa could tell his executive board that the Teamsters had added more than 200,000 members in three years. With 1,700,000 members, it is the largest union in the world. The steel workers and electrical unions settled for modest gains last year. But in January the Teamsters won a 42c-an-hour package for 200,000 truck drivers.

An AFL-CIO official, who preferred to remain anonymous, pointed to the secret of Hoffa's success: "Jimmy is making like a trade unionist." The banner with the venerable labor slogan, "Organize the unorganized," has slipped from the limp grasp of the labor statesmen to Hoffa's strong if grimy hands. The Teamster board last month approved a constitutional change, subject to convention approval, which will expand the union's jurisdiction to "all unorganized workers." In addition to truck drivers, the union includes policemen, retail clerks, office workers, egg farmers, brewery workers, warehousemen and loading dock workers.

LABOR HIS BUSINESS: Some AFL-CIO unions fear Teamster raids on their jurisdictions. They would prefer to see the union back in the House of Labor, but Meany has barred the Teamsters' return as long as Hoffa is president. Hoffa has indicated that he would be willing to go back, but readmission would have to be on his terms.

The Teamsters have maintained close ties with other unions despite the AFL-CIO anti-fraternization order. Truck drivers are handy allies in a strike if they decide not to move the company's goods. Last year the Teamsters set up a joint bargaining committee with Harry Bridges' independent West Coast longshoremen and won 23c-an-hour.

Hoffa looks best measured against other union leaders. Where AFL-CIO



leaders pursue respectability, to Hoffa labor is his business and business is good when his union adds members and wins good contracts. Workers will take their ministers where they find them. A shepherd who tends his flock is more easily forgiven his sins than one who pretends piety but makes a deal with the wolf.

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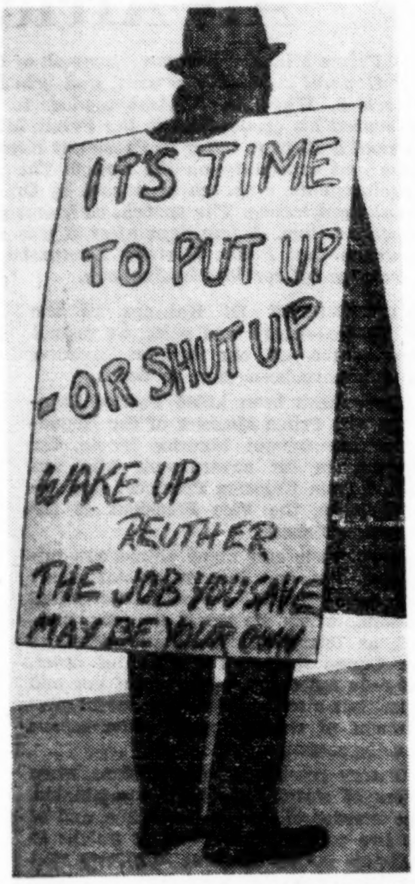

NEARLY 100 unemployed United Auto Workers members turned up to picket President Walter Reuther's regional unemployment conference March 1 in Detroit. While Kaiser and Willys nominally represented the invited auto industry leaders, the Big 3, American Motors and Studebaker Packard gave various reasons for staying away. Gov. Swainson of Michigan and deputies for governors in nearby states attended, as did a number of mayors and other public officials. A similar UAW conference on unemployment in farm implement plants was held March 4 in Chicago and another for the aircraft industry set for the coast. A group of unemployed, led by Art Fox, laid-off Ford toolmaker, were admitted to the hall. The photo above is by UAW member John Ruban.

Friends Committee offers ten films in N.Y. March 18

TEN ART FILMS, including Carl Dreyer's **Ordet** and **The Passion of Joan of Arc**, will be shown in a day of films and discussion by the American Friends Service Committee on Saturday, March 18, at the Friends Meeting House, 221 E. 15th St., New York City.

The cost of the entire program is $3.

LECTURES

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein

STILL HAS A NUMBER of open afternoons and a very few open evenings in the following lecture schedule. Student or other groups interested in arranging meetings in or near the following cities at the times indicated, please write immediately to:

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San Diego	16	Calgary	3	Detroit	14-15
San Francisco	21-25	Winnipeg	4	Cleveland	16-17
Petaluma	22	Minneapolis	5-7	Oberlin	18
Sacramento	23	Chicago	7-9	Toronto	19-21
Portland	26-27	St. Louis	9-10	Montreal	22-23

In addition to her usual list of literary subjects, Dr. Rubinstein is, this year, giving a number of talks based on her recent three-month lecture tour in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

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In their hands

TUSTIN, CALIF.

Your newsweekly is very fine. I take both sides to know the truth. I think it should be emphasized that any more wars will be disastrous to everyone. Nuclear war would kill all the people in the world. This should be told them for their own benefit, because it can be in their hands to avoid stupid wars.

George Gaylord Jr.

BOOKS

Richard Wright: Eight lives

THIS COLLECTION of eight stories by Richard Wright about Negroes* covers a wide range in time, in tone and in subject matter. It includes one published as early as 1937 (**New Masses**), and one as late as 1957 (**Esquire**), and reveals him as an artist who can be lyric, powerful and honest, but clumsy and cheap as well. In this unevenness he displays a typically American literary trait.

Wright has shown himself obsessively concerned with the uses of violence in fiction, and the present volume adds murder, shootings, even decapitation to the list. In some of these stories, as in other of his works, violent incidents are played for suspense and shock value on the cheapest detective story level. But in others he uses an irrational eruptive gesture with powerful validity as a fierce expression of the frustration and humiliation of the black man.

Actually, Wright never needed the gimmick of violence. His natural ability to tell a story is great. On the simplest level, the reader always wants to know what is happening next, whether he is writing well of the everyday agony of a Negro looking for work in Chicago of the Thirties, or writing badly of an African, confused out of his senses by pagan and Christian rituals, decapitating his master.

THIS LAST STORY, "Man, God Ain't Like That," and another, "Man of All Work," telling of an American Negro driven to masquerade as a woman to get work, are done completely in stilted dialogue (this in turn is in dialect) and are so childish in concept and amateurish in style that it is difficult to understand their inclusion in the volume. "Big Black Good Man" is a cleverly handled story of the misunderstanding created by fear between a Scandinavian and a black American sailor. With these three stories Wright's foray into new subject matter and style ends.

The others either use familiar material or are themselves known by earlier publication. Of these "The Man Who Went to Chicago" is a fascinating autobiographical account which Wright expands into a larger statement of his views.

"The hospital kept us four Negroes as though we were close kin to the animals we tended, huddled together down in the underworld corridors of the hospital, separated by a vast psychological distance from the significant processes of the rest of the hospital—just as America had kept us locked in the dark underworld of American life for three hundred years—and we had made our own code of ethics, values, loyalty."

THIS THEME is restated and developed in the most ambitious story in the volume, "The Man Who Lived Underground." An innocent but wanted Negro takes refuge in a city sewer. From the vantage point of this "dark underworld of American life," Wright examines how that society appears to the Negro. Brutal police methods, false money values, an ineffectual and hypocritical church, meaningless personal relationships are part of this nightmare vision. When the Negro comes up from underground, moved by a need to impress the reality of his bizarre underground existence on a totally unconcerned white world, he is shot.

The white policeman explains: "You've got to shoot his kind. They'd wreck things." But Wright's underground hero, clouded in vague concepts of fear, guilt and redemption, enacting an adolescent fantasy in the sewer, is hard to accept as the force to wreck that corrupt world. At best he damages the smooth line of the facade.

For true strength we return to Wright's earliest and quietest story, "The Man Who Saw the Flood." With limpid simplicity it tells of a Negro sharecropper family returning to their flooded shack and to the increasing misery of an existence "owned body and soul by the white man." The work is a poetic classic of what was honorably called proletarian literature at the time it was written and which has since become an American literary term of abuse.

RICHARD WRIGHT
His is the ninth story

YET IT IS JUST this kind of story, like those in **Uncle Tom's Children**, which remains Wright's artistic achievement; and of all the heroes in this volume, it is the flooded-out sharecropper, accepting his hardship and carrying on under intolerable conditions, who achieves the stature of a literary hero. Wright has invested him with the essential requisites, human dignity and love and that powerful force which renews itself in life continuously and husbands its strength for what is vital.

To the eight men presented in the book, Wright's own life adds a ninth. The presence of Wright's personal tragedy and the fact of his too early death is felt on every page. Pretending a compliment, the dust jacket of **Eight Men** assures the reader that though the main characters are Negroes, these are not "racial problem stories." Without attempting to expose the intent of this comment, let it be said that not all the blurb writers in publishing can rob Wright of his role as an American artist: of having opened the window on the agony and dreams of his people.

—**Helen Davis**

**EIGHT MEN, by Richard Wright. World Publishing Co. 250 pp. $3.95.*

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Congo, Laos, Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

King Vathana to recognize the new regime.

Lawful Premier Phouma escaped with his Cabinet into neutralist Cambodia. Recently there has been a lull in fighting as nine attempts by Nosavan's forces, advised by U.S. officers, failed to dislodge the Pathet Lao solidly entrenched in the north.

CHIANG'S MARAUDERS: The Kennedy Administration has in vain tried to bend Phouma to its will. It persuaded King Vathana to solicit Phouma's support for setting up a Cambodia-Burma-Malaya commission to supervise Laos' neutrality. Cambodia and Burma rejected the proposal; only Malaya was willing.

Cambodia's Premier Prince Sihanouk complained that the Pathet Lao had not been consulted. Burma's Premier U Nu said joining such a commission would mean recognizing the illegal Boun Oum government.

But U Nu had another reason for turning down the proposal: the continued presence in Burma since 1949 of 6,000 marauding troops of Chiang Kai-shek.

Last month the Burmese government seized a quantity of U.S. arms of recent make airlifted to these troops from Taiwan. Burma holds the U.S. responsible for this and similar provocative actions of the past.

NOT IMPRESSED: Phouma recently went several times to Xiengkhouang in north Laos, where the seat of his government has been set up. On March 1 he met with his half-brother, Prince Souphanouvong, leader of the Pathet Lao, and called on all Laotians "to fight side by side to liberate Laos." Asked to comment on a changing U.S. policy toward Laos under President Kennedy, he said: "The U.S. has betrayed me once and I am not impressed by words but by deeds."

Words or deeds of a changing U.S. policy, however, were singularly lacking

The Enquirer, Cincinnati

The belly has no ears, nor is it filled with fair words.

under the Kennedy Administration. A London **Times** correspondent in Vientiane (Jan. 30) quoted a U.S. officer attached to Nosavan's forces as saying that "the only possible solution was to crush the Pathet Lao by force; [he] added that if the new Administration in Washington changed this policy, he and other officers would resign."

A NEW HOAX: There were disturbing indications of an intensification of the Laotian conflict. The SEATO powers are scheduled to meet soon to discuss Laos. On March 1 the U.S. press front-paged another story of "massive Communist arms build-up in northern Laos" by the Soviet Union and North Vietnam.

Early this year the Nosavan government tried to directly involve the U.S. and SEATO forces on its side by crying for help against "Communist invasion" of Laos, but was soon forced to admit that the story was a hoax. In 1959 a UN commission found groundless a similar scare story by the U.S.-backed Laotian regime.

Phouma has asked for the withdrawal of "American troops" from Laos and reestablishment of a coalition government worked out at a 14-nation conference proposed by Cambodia and endorsed by the Soviet Union and France. The conference would include the Western Big Three, the Soviet Union, China and nine interested nations. But the participation of China in such a conference would seem to make it unacceptable to the Kennedy Administration, since the President on March 3 called China a "menace" to peace.

Meanwhile Phouma was reportedly planning a world tour to include Burma, India, China, the Soviet Union, the United Arab Republic, Britain, France and North Vietnam.

Situation in the Congo

In the Congo the U.S.-supported Kasavubu government and the Belgium-backed Tshombe government of Katanga brusquely rejected last month's UN resolution calling for (1) "use of force, if necessary" to disarm Congolese forces to prevent civil war; (2) withdrawal of all Belgian military and para-military forces and "advisers" from the Congo; (3) an impartial investigation of the murder of Premier Lumumba and his colleagues in Katanga and Kasai.

Going beyond rejection of the UN resolution, Kasavubu's troops attacked Congolese civilians, killing 44 and brutally mistreated UN personnel. After the UN command condemned the "bestial behavior" of Kasavubu's men, the Congolese President—whom the U.S. foisted on the UN as the Congo's sole legal authority—ordered his troops "to open fire on anyone" who opposed them. And on the very day Kasavubu was declaring war on the UN, G. Mennen Williams, U.S. Asst. Secy. of State for African Affairs, arrived in Leopoldville with Kennedy's "greetings" and "support" for the Congolese President.

"WHITE KATANGANS": Kasavubu's Premier Ileo hastily signed an agreement with "independent" Katanga and South Kasai pledging cooperation against the UN. Kasavubu's forces thereupon launched a major attack on UN troops stationed in the Leopoldville province ports of Banana and Matadi. In Katanga, not only did Belgians remain as "white Katangans," but Tshombe was reportedly dickering for more French personnel.

UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold appealed for more troop contributions from Afro-Asian states and for more financial aid for starving Congolese children. He also asked the UN to approve a larger budget for action in the Congo. India's Premier Nehru, stating his belief that withdrawal of UN forces would create utter chaos in the Congo, agreed to send 3,000 combat troops.

WHAT NEHRU SAID: The U.S. distorted Nehru's message and ignored the real reason why the Congolese children were starving. Kennedy said he was glad to see that Nehru shared his views on keeping UN troops in the Congo; but he failed to mention that Nehru (1) strongly condemned Belgian maneuvers to split up the Congo; (2) demanded that the murderers of Lumumba and his associates be punished; (3) agreed to send Indian combat troops only if they were used against Belgian "and other" regulars and "mercenaries" when necessary, and not "for the suppression of any popular movement" or to "support a gangster regime" and "parties and factions that are challenging the UN."

Hammarskjold sent "strong notes" as usual to Belgium, Tshombe and Kasavubu and, as usual, they were ignored. He still made no effort to tap the dues that should have been paid the Congolese government by "the world's biggest and richest diamond mine" situated in the area with the worst famine victims in the Congo's South Kasai; nor did he even hint at the fact that Western-owned Katanga industries were sending abroad more than $90,000,000 they used to pay Leopoldville in taxes.

In a note to Nehru Feb. 26 Soviet Premier Khrushchev recommended (1) an all-African commission for the Congo, as proposed by Nkrumah Feb. 18; (2) a speedy winding up of UN operations in the Congo; (3) replacing Hammarskjold with a three-man secretariat. Nehru commented that disarmament should take precedence over a discussion of Hammarskjold's status. Nevertheless, all aspects of the Congo issue and Hammarskjold's role were destined to be debated in the reconvened General Assembly.

Situation in Cuba

To Cuban Premier Castro's Feb. 14 feelers for relaxation of U.S.-Cuba tensions, the Kennedy Administration reacted by saying it was considering a total embargo on goods from Cuba under the Trading With the Enemy Act. This would affect Cuban tobacco, needed by Florida cigar manufacturers, and molasses.

White House press officer Lincoln White set forth the U.S. position more precisely Feb. 24 by saying that U.S.-Cuban relations canot be improved unless Castro permits free elections which, Washington seemed convinced, would result in the repudiation of the revolutionary government (see Report to Readers, p. 2). Sen. Kenneth Keating (R-N.Y.) called for more stringent measures: setting up and recognition of a Cuban government-in-exile and promoting a "Cuban forum" of exiles from Havana.

SUMMING UP: In Laos, the Congo and Cuba the U.S. and its allies were up to their ears in covert or overt intervention to maintain or restore the colonial status quo; to preserve strategic bases and fabulously profitable investments; to prevent the rise of strong anti-colonial governments which would endanger bases and investments. In no formerly colonial country have the Soviet Union or China acquired military bases or control of resources for profit.

Yet, in a major policy speech March 3 Stevenson warned the Soviet Union against "intervention in Africa" and urged it to allow Africans the right "to determine their destiny." A few days later the U.S. unilaterally diverted to the Congo four naval craft that conveniently happened to be on their way to South Africa. Five hundreds marines were aboard the ships. In Washington, press officer White said the UN had not asked for naval help but the U.S. was exercising "foresight and caution."

While a broad Latin American conference for national sovereignty, economic emancipation and peace was being held in Mexico City March 5-8, and Brazil's President Quadros was openly advocating India-type neutrality and "agreeing to disagree" with Berle on Cuba, Presidential adviser Arthur Schlesinger Jr. was reporting "a decline" in Castro's prestige in Latin America.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND SOUTH AFRICA

Rough time for Apartheid champion in London

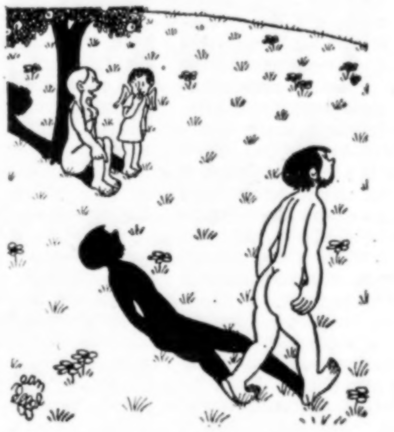
By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian staff correspondent

LONDON

THE STAGE WAS SET for an all-out battle against the race-hate policy of South Africa when the Commonwealth Prime Ministers met in London March 8. Friends of the African people, including progressive Labor MPs, trade union leaders and personalities in various cultural fields, were planning to maintain a night-and-day vigil outside the conference headquarters.

For weeks government propaganda sources have been peddling the story that there was general agreement to ignore South Africa's internal policies and that the question of expelling her from the Commonwealth would not arise. This has now been blown sky high by an announcement by Canada's Prime Minister Diefenbaker that he intended to force the issue of Apartheid (South Africa's laws imposing virtual slavery on the African majority) at an early stage in the conference. Then Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaya, revealed that he and Diefenbaker would join forces. Rahman is the main hope of the SEATO alliance in Southeast Asia and his move is a serious embarrassment to the British government.

THEN ON TO BONN: Rahman told the **Daily Mail:** "The South African policy is no longer a domestic question. For instance, neither I nor Pandit Nehru would be permitted to visit a hotel in South Africa. The situation is monstrous." Since South Africa has decided to become a Republic, it must ask permission to remain in the Commonwealth and it now seems likely that the request will be rejected.



Jean Effel, Droit et Liberte, Paris

Racial question, year zero . . . "Adam's best friend is black. They are inseparable!"

Verwoerd intends to visit Chancellor Adenauer in Bonn after the Commonwealth conference and reports from Pretoria say that he wants to secure trade concessions from the Common Market countries to compensate for the loss of Commonwealth trade preferences.

THE RHODESIA LINK: The links between the South African government and the supporters of Sir Roy Welensky in Southern and Northern Rhodesia will also be raised at the Commonwealth Conference. In a recent broadcast, South African Foreign Minister Loew said the Central African Federation (Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland) should "stand together to preserve white civilization."

Some of the whites in Southern Rhodesia are campaigning for a breakaway from the Commonwealth and a link-up with South Africa, but there are others who are unwilling to risk the loss of Commonwealth trading concessions.

LOADED DICE: Meanwhile, Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the Northern Rhodesian National Independence Party, summed up to me the failure of the conference on his country's constitution in these words: "It was a complete waste of time. It is clear that it is the views of absent white settlers and extreme Conservative elements which prevailed."

The British government's plan would give the vote to only 70,000 out of 2,000,000 African citizens; of this 70,000 a good proportion are civil servants or in one way or another dependent on the government. There are additional voting provisions designed to weight the balance in favor of the 28,000 white inhabitants. Yet even these proposals are bitterly opposed by Prime Minister Welensky of the Central African Federation.

CALENDAR

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Hear DR. WILLARD UPHAUS: "I WENT TO JAIL FOR FREEDOM," also Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein, Prof. Kermit Eby, Frank Anglin & folk singers. Ausp: Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights.
TUES., MARCH 28, 8 P.M.
At 32 W. RANDOLPH ST.

Hear Yuri Suhl, "HOW FARE JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION, EASTERN EUROPE & ISRAEL?" FRI., MARCH 24, 8 p.m., home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Basker, 5010 Jarlath Ave., Skokie. SUN., MARCH 26, 8 p.m., Hyde Park YMCA, 1400 E. 53 St. Also Chalk Talk by Peggy Kraft Lipschitz. Sponsored by: Chicago Committee for Jewish Currents, Box 4714, Chicago 90, Ill.

F O R U M
dealing with "YOUTH'S NEW HORIZONS," SUNDAY, MARCH 12, at the Holiday Hall, 1312 W. Lawrence Ave. Panel session conducted by young people, with audience participation.
Sponsored by: Jewish Cultural Clubs.

LOS ANGELES

Celebrate 23RD ANNIVERSARY OF THE PEOPLE'S WORLD. SUNDAY, MARCH 19, 7 P.M.—PARK MANOR BALLROOM, 607 S. Western Ave. Program: Pearl Whitelow, young soprano; Frank Greenwood, dramatic presentations; Lenny Potash, folk singer; Jean Bennett, folk singer. Guest speakers: Dr. Brandon Bowlin, just returned from Africa, and Al Richmond, Exec. Editor P.W.
Dessert & Coffee—Adm. 90c.

Elect Delegates or Observers to the 11th Annual Conference for the Protection of Foreign Born to be held
SAT., MARCH 25, 10 a.m. at PARK MANOR, 607 S. Western Av., L.A. Dinner to honor new officers at 6 p.m. at PARK MANOR. Advance Registration at the L.A. Committee office, 326 W. 3rd St., Room 318, L.A. 13, Calif.
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FRI., MARCH 10, 8 p.m. at PHILA. ETHICAL SOCIETY, 1906 S. Rittenhouse Sq. For information contact FPCC P.O. Box 7971, Phila. 1.

PHILIP BONOSKY, author & lecturer, who, while recently abroad, met many leaders of the Socialist countries, will speak on "CULTURE IN A CHANGING WORLD" at the ADELPHIA HOTEL, 13th & Chestnut Sts., Fri., March 17, 8:30 p.m.—Adm. $1. unem. & stud. 50c. Ausp: Philadelphia Worker Committee.

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YIP HARBURG'S Happiest, Newest Show, "THE HAPPIEST GIRL IN THE WORLD" starring Cyril Ritchard, music by Offenbach. GUARDIAN NIGHT, Wed., March 29. For information: ORegon 3-3800.

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Adelphi Hall, Sat., March 18,
10 a.m.-5 p.m. SPEAKERS:
ELIAS PICHENY (Staff member, Natl. Jewish Welfare Board) on "Transmitting the values of Our Jewish Culture." MORRIS U. SCHAPPES (historian, editor) on "A Secular View of Jewish Life." Other participants: Yuri Suhl, poet-novelist; Mrs. Mollie Ilson, pres. Emma Lazarus Federation; David Flacks, educator. REGISTRATION: $2, delegates; $1 individuals. WRITE FOR CALLS & BLANKS to: JEWISH CURRENTS, 22 E. 17 St., NYC 3. WA 4-5740

IN MEMORIAM

Leo Hartman and family, in deep grief, announce the death of
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5. What is Philosophy?
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THE GALLERY

ONE PHASE OF THE COMPETITION between economic systems socialism seems to have won hands down is the battle to clear streets after a snow storm. Aline Mosby, UPI correspondent in Moscow, reported on how socialist "snow squadrons" operate. As the first flakes fall, 160 machines begin pushing snow to curbs. Then 600 other machines automatically scoop the snow into 1,700 dump trucks. The snow is dumped into fields outside the city and into the Moscow River, where scalding hot water is poured to keep the snow melted. Later, 80 machines drop a mixture of sand and rock salt on the streets. At the same time, 4,000 workers, many of them women, attack the remaining snow with shovels and twig brooms. Miss Mosby gives two reasons for socialist superiority: (1) "Moscow still does not have heavy traffic;" and (2) "the socialist system is like a gigantic WPA." . . . Sen. Stephen M. Young (D-O.) noted that officials of the Civil and Defense Mobilization Office didn't work on Inauguration Day because of the storm and on Jan. 27 they closed their office early because of a four-inch snowfall. Young noted: "These paid officials sitting around their desks waiting for the bombs to fall scurry home when the emergency of bad weather occurs" . . . Don Maclean in the Washington **Daily News** reported: "A speech writer for one of the government departments here was given instructions on a speech he was to write for an undersecretary. The instructions said: 'Make it bland, but punchy. Should not deal in specifics, but convey a sense of urgency. About 20 minutes.'"

Stamwitz, Steel Labor

"The accident clause in your husband's Health and Welfare plan won't help you, Mrs. Doe—but the maternity clause will."

FROM RECENT MAIL: A letter from Brooklyn bore a sticker with this slogan, "Help Stamp Out Humanity! Support the nuclear arms race." Stickers are distributed by Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to the Human Animal, 150 Nassau St. N.Y. . . . Proud Papa Vincent Hallinan sent the latest on his sons. Patrick, better known as Butch, a second-year law student at Hastings College of Law in San Francisco, received the highest mark ever in the moot court arguments and won first place in his class for combined oral and written work in moot court. Matthew, better known as Dynamite, is a star on the junior varsity rugby team at the U. of California. Dynamite is also intramural middleweight boxing champion, captain of the league-leading Ross Raiders basketball team. He is also a straight-A student in pre-law. Tuffy was one of 100 out of 750 applicants accepted to the U. of California Medical School. Four years of pre-medical school training is usually required, but because his marks were so good, Tuffy made it in three years.

ALBERT J. McALOON, exec-secy. of the Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth, has had great success in a crusade against obscenity. He has enlisted dozens of community groups and his meetings have drawn large audiences. The Providence **Journal-Bulletin** explained some of his success: "Mr. McAloon shows lantern slides of nudes from girlie magazines at meetings to arouse a sense of responsibility . . ." The slides seemed to have aroused Mayor Lawrence A. McCarthy; he appointed his own committee on obscenity . . . An ad in the **Wall Street Journal** read: "Sale or Merger. Manufacturer of toy items with nation-wide distribution. Attractive loss." . . . The San Francisco State College bookstore has refused to sell **Sounds of Protest**, a recording of last year's demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings. The bookshop manager said: "We have the right to turn down anything controversial." . . . FM station WBAI in New York canceled regular scheduled broadcasts for Sunday, March 19, to accommodate a 12-hour program, "A Taste of Fresh Air." Brooks Atkinson, Orson Bean, Theodore Bikel, Morris Carnovsky, Celeste Holm, Edward Everett Horton, Alexander King, Marya Mannes, James Mason, Zero Mostel, Barbara Nichols, Vincent Price, Tony Randall, Carl Sandburg, Howard da Silva, Harold Taylor, Van Cliburn and Marie Wilson will be heard.

—Robert E. Light

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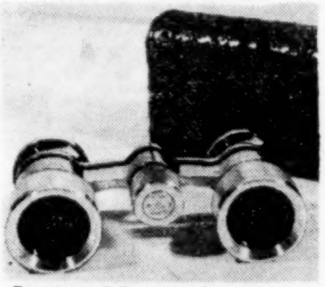

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

On civil disobedience

In London on Feb. 18, 2,000 persons sat down on the sidewalks outside the Ministry of Defense to protest against nuclear arms and against the press silence on the campaign to outlaw such arms (GUARDIAN, March 6). Inspiration of the movement is the philosopher-scientist Bertrand Russell, 88, who sat with the 2,000. In its Feb. 17 issue the London New Statesman *printed an article by Lord Russell in which he told why he acted as he did. Below is a large excerpt of the statement.*

THERE ARE TWO DIFFERENT KINDS of conscientious civil disobedience. There is disobedience to a law specifically commanding an action which some people profoundly believe to be wicked. The most important example of this case in our time is conscientious objection.

The second kind of civil disobedience is its employment with a view to causing a change in the law or in public policy. In this aspect, it is a means of propaganda, and there are those who consider that it is an undesirable kind. Many, however, of whom I am one, think it to be now necessary.

Democratic citizens are for the most part busy with their own affairs and cannot study difficult questions with any thoroughness. Their opinions are formed upon such information as is easily accessible, and the Authorities can, and too often do, see to it that such information is misleading. When I speak of the Authorities, I do not think only of the politicians, whether in office or in opposition, but equally their technical advisers, the popular press, broadcasting and television and, in the last resort, the police. These forces are, at present, being used to prevent the democracies of western countries from knowing the truth about nuclear weapons.

CONSIDER THE QUESTION of American bases in Britain. Who knows that within each of them there is a hard kernel consisting of the airmen who can respond to an alert and are so highly trained that they can be in the air within a minute or two? This kernel is kept entirely isolated from the rest of the camp, which is not admitted to it. It has its own mess, dormitories, libraries, cinemas, etc., and there are armed guards to prevent other Americans in the base camp from having access to it. Every month or two, everybody in it, including the Commander, is flown back to America and replaced by a new group.

It seems clear that the whole purpose is to keep the British ignorant and to preserve, among the personnel of the kernel, that purely mechanical response to orders and propaganda for which the whole of their training is designed.

TO MAKE KNOWN THE FACTS which show that the life of every inhabitant of Britain, old and young, man, woman and child, is at every moment in imminent danger and that this danger is caused by what is mis-named defense and immensely aggravated by every measure which governments pretend will diminish it—to make this known has seemed to some of us an imperative duty which we must pursue with whatever means are at our command. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has done and is doing valuable and very successful work in this direction, but the press is becoming used to its doings and beginning to doubt their news value. It has therefore seemed to some of us necessary to supplement its campaign by such actions as the press is sure to report.

There is another, and perhaps even more important reason, for the practice of civil disobedience in this time of utmost peril. There is a very widespread feeling that the individual is impotent against governments, and that, however bad their policies may be, there is nothing effective that private people can do about it. This is a complete mistake. If all those who disapprove of government policy were to join in massive demonstrations of civil disobedience, they could render governmental folly impossible and compel the so-called statesmen to acquiesce in measures that would make human survival possible.

AN EXTRAORDINARILY INTERESTING CASE which illustrates the power of the Establishment, at any rate in America, is that of Claude Eatherly, who dropped the bomb on Hiroshima. His case also illustrates that in the modern world it often happens that only by breaking the law can a man escape from committing atrocious crimes. He was not told what the bomb would do and was utterly horrified when he discovered the consequences of his act. He has devoted himself throughout many years to various kinds of civil disobedience with a view to calling attention to the atrocity of nuclear weapons and to expiating the sense of guilt which, if he did not act, would weigh him down. The Authorities have decided that he is to be considered mad, and a board of remarkably conformist psychiatrists have endorsed that official view. Eatherly is repentant and certified; Truman is unrepentant and uncertified. I have seen a number of Eatherly's statements explaining his motives. These statements are entirely sane. But such is the power of mendacious publicity that almost everyone, including myself, believed that he had become a lunatic.

In our topsy-turvy world those who have power of life and death over the whole human species are able to persuade almost the whole population of the countries which nominally enjoy freedom of the press and of publicity that any man who considers the preservation of human life a thing of value must be mad. I shall not be surprised if my last years are spent in a lunatic asylum—where I shall enjoy the company of all who are capable of feelings of humanity.

—Bertrand Russell